

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## Democracy and the Land

By WILFRED WELLOCK

*Inquiry into the origins of the world upheaval which, after 30 years, shows no signs of subsiding and which, as yet, moves towards no goal that offers the least prospect of a decent life for common humanity, leads one to the conclusion that the social order and the life which we seek must rest on new economic and spiritual foundations—or perhaps on old and forgotten foundations.*

IT is daily becoming clearer that the foundations that are now collapsing are doing so because they lack the cement of creative, organic, social life. The men who laid them were carried away by the lure of riches, but they committed a social crime the full story of which has not yet been unfolded.

The founders of the Industrial Revolution tore men and women, often with the aid of starvation, from an organically integrated social life full of vital human relationships, a complex network of social obligations and responsibilities which gave their lives purpose and meaning, to become the slaves of profit-making. Drawn from conditions in which they had value as human beings to conditions in which they had only a profit value, and in which they must eventually become machines, they ceased to be a community and became a crowd.

The industrialized urban civilization that was thus built up is today decaying. Neither dope nor patching can save it.

A new edifice must be built. Its corner-stone must be man as a human person, endowed with responsibility, trained and given the opportunity to serve the community of which he forms a part.

The economic foundation of such a community must be the land. Everything else passes away, often rapidly—and money above all else: but the land remains; without it man cannot live.

### Vital Foundation

History shows that every stable and enduring society has been founded on agriculture, on an inalienable right to cultivate land and live on it. Mr. H. J. Massingham writes in "The English Countryman": "A democratic system depending on votes but not on land may secure political but never economic freedom."

Much light is thrown on that remark by some observations of Mr. Lloyd George in an interview with Hannen Swaffer on the eve of his eightieth birthday:

"When I was young, the village was self-contained. We made our own footwear, from the hide to the boot. We made our own clothes, from the wool to the cloth and the tailor. We made our own bread, from the grain to the mill and the bakehouse. We made our own butter, our own cheese, and our own bacon."

"You could not starve the village—and there was plenty of work for everyone. We must revive the countryside. We have the best land in Europe. The skies drop fatness on the soil."

An English village prior to the In-

dustrial Revolution and the Enclosures Acts enjoyed a greater measure of economic independence and democratic power than do the industrial workers of today. The generally accepted view that democracy owes its existence and its advance to the industrial towns is not in accordance with the facts. The towns won the vote, but only to discover after seventy years that in the absence of economic power it was worthless and a snare.

We are now beginning to realize that there is no real security apart from the soil. The growers of food are the last stronghold of freedom in any country. The peasant wields a weapon that is more powerful than a hundred votes. He may not be able to use eloquent language, but he can live when the rest of us must die.

### Produce of the Land

The old English farm carried many cows, sheep, and pigs, according to its size. Even the farm labourers possessed a strip of land and rights of common, and kept at least one cow, a pig or two, and several sheep.

Thus practically all the people who worked on the land had milk, butter, cheese, bacon, and meat; also leather for boots and wool for clothing. The crops usually included grains and roots, and there was always timber for fences, gates, and house and farm repairs. In addition to his strip of land and his common rights, most farm labourers received by usage gifts of produce, wood, and wool from their employers.

The family spirit was very powerful in those old farmsteads: farmers worked and ate with their men, and their wives with the maidservants.

Villages were largely self-supporting, while a cluster of villages around a market town were almost completely so. Neighbourliness evened out their economy. The sharing and exchange of produce was a gentle art which not only filled up the niches of want, but spread goodwill and bound the people together into a real community. Such a village was a veritable economic stronghold, and as vital an embodiment of democracy as we are likely to see for a very long time.

### Industrial Worker's Lot

What comparable roots has the industrial worker of today? None whatever. He has neither stake nor status in the economic fabric by which he gains his bread. He can be turned out of his job any day, and when that happens he is stranded and helpless.

Faced with monopolistic mass-production, he dare not, even if he had the money, start up in business on his own. He must live on the dole and hope for the best; and if the best does not happen, he may find himself called up for war.

The vote has not saved him from this hell, nor can it deliver him from it. In elections his bewildered mind is captured by a press which derives its power from the very wealth that is responsible for his plight. That happened in 1931, and helped to bring the present conflict. His faith in the vote is now waning, so that in the next economic catastrophe he will probably support Fascism or Communism.

The real source of the strength of the old English village was that from within its borders came most of the products by which its needs were satisfied. Its food, its clothing, its housing, and also its tools, all came out of the neighbouring and neighbourly earth. Every labourer,

PACIFIST COMMENTARY: EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## The Four-Year Plan

MR. CHURCHILL'S speech on Mar. 20 was comprehensive and contradictory. But the fairly brief portion in which he cautiously expressed his views on the future of the war was more interesting than the longer section which dealt with domestic policy, for the reason given by the Manchester Guardian (Mar. 21):

"When we look at its details, the Four-Year Plan does not amount to more than what the Government is already pledged to in the way of reconstruction. It puts in very general terms the obvious content of a post-war programme."

Nevertheless, to judge by the enthusiasm of the Conservative press, it does amount to something more, at any rate by implication. "It is far beyond the scope of the Beveridge proposals," says the Telegraph (Mar. 21). "It easily supersedes the Beveridge plan and the palliatives of other politicians," says the Mail (Mar. 11). This particular kind of enthusiasm is rather suspect. It sounds as though the speech had reassured the "existing worthy interests" that they need not be afraid of Mr. Churchill.

### The War-Future

TO turn for a moment to Mr. Churchill's view of the war-future: it expands the picture he presented in February. In 1945 we may have beaten "Hitler and his powers of evil into death, dust, and ashes." We shall then carry on the war against Japan; but a partial demobilization will be possible. Then, "it would be our hope that the United Nations . . . should immediately begin to confer upon the future world-organization." On which one can only say that it would then be too late.

The actual position would be that of the three great Powers, the US would be wholly, Britain half, engaged in war with Japan—a war which, as the Dutch Admiral Hefferich reminds us (Observer, Mar. 21) may by that time be impossible to win—while Russia, not at war with Japan, would be the strongest power in Europe and her hands would be free. The prospect does not disturb me: but it should give the State Department and the Foreign Office a more than ordinary head-ache.

### Further Wars

THE contradictions of Mr. Churchill's speech need more careful scrutiny than I can give them here. One sticks out a mile. There is to be "a future world-organization

whether he worked on the land or off it, was a craftsman, the possessor of many skills, but the land was the centre and foundation of the common life and its economy.

The industrial towns, with all their science, wealth, and boasted democracy, have never been able to produce a social strength equal to that of the village they so recklessly destroyed and superseded. Nor have they at any time afforded to the common man the security, the satisfaction, and the contentment which were once the possessions of the village labourer.

It will not be an easy matter to transform Britain into a land-based democracy after the devastations of 50 years of senseless, uncontrolled mass-production. But the task must be attempted, and there is promise that world economic changes arising out of the war will facilitate its fulfilment.

to safeguard against further wars." Nevertheless:

"In 30 years . . . a small working and fighting population will have to support and protect nearly twice as many old people. If this country is . . . to survive as a great Power that can hold its own against external pressures, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families."

That is the voice of a blind guide. For the fundamental cause of the growing sterility of the nation is the radical insecurity of the modern world. The idea that the specious internal security of totalitarianism will encourage larger families—and this is at bottom Mr. Churchill's truly Hitlerian idea—is as psychologically false as it is spiritually rotten. It is of the same order of glib superficiality as the idea of a "vigorous revival of healthy village life by means of 'the modern amusements of the cinema and the wireless, to which will soon be added television.'"

### The Generals Again

AS Gen. Giraud's statements of policy come nearer to what Anglo-American opinion regards as desirable. Gen. de Gaulle's defects are more openly canvassed. It is now admitted that his leadership is autocratic and his ambition personal. We are now told La France Libre (the best of the emigré French periodicals) is not allowed into the colonies controlled by Fighting France, because it has been mildly critical of de Gaulle's organization (Observer, Mar. 21).

Since this is so, why is opinion sanguine of an understanding between de Gaulle and Giraud? "Will either General," asks the Economist (Mar. 20), "be prepared to act as deputy-leader to the other?" It seems unlikely. In which case, would it not be highly desirable to put both Generals in their proper places? After all, there is something wildly paradoxical in the fact that these military autocrats are wholly maintained by the British and the Americans, who at least keep political control in civil hands.

### Giraud's Sentiments

BOTH Generals appear to be making popular professions in order to throw dust in the eyes of their British and American backers. De Gaulle has never made any at-

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## BELGIAN EXILES AND FAMINE

THE comparative inactivity of the Belgian Government in this country in the matter of the starvation in its country was explained by its Prime Minister, M. Pierlot, at a meeting of the Famine Relief Committee in London on Mar. 19. He said:

"I have heard that in certain quarters in this country there has been some astonishment at seeing a purely British movement champion the cause of the starving people of Belgium while, it is contended, the Belgian Government, who must be well informed of the situation in the occupied country, have maintained up to the present an attitude of reserve."

"It is easy to understand that the Belgian Government has felt bound to observe a great discretion and not to add in any way to the absorbing concerns of the British Government in the prosecution of the war. I do not wish, however, for this moderation to be misunderstood. We cannot appear indifferent to the sufferings of our compatriots and to the efforts made by our British friends to alleviate them."

"If we do not succeed in saving her (the Belgium of tomorrow), the dawn of victory will rise on a depopulated nation which will not be capable, for the first time in the course of her tragic history, of making the effort necessary to rise up from her ruins."

### STUMBLING BLOCK?

A PPU Group has generously sent me £5 to replace the £5 lost through declining to change the name of the Fighting Fund. "We don't care what the Fund is called," they wrote, "but we do want to see it in a good state and earnestly desire to see a pacifist press in our hands."

On the other hand, if the title of the fund is really a stumbling block to many, there is no reason why, in fact, it should not be called simply the Peace News Fund. The important thing is to get on with it.

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### THE EDITOR

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## Unconditional Surrender

WHEN one thinks of it objectively, it is astonishing that the authorities at the Casablanca Conference should have proclaimed that the war will end only with "the unconditional surrender" of Germany. That single phrase puts a peremptory end to all the beliefs, often held with desperate sincerity, that Britain and America are fighting for something higher and nobler than mere victory over Germany. It is true that they have never said, in plain language, what is this higher and nobler thing for which they are fighting. Casablanca seems to give the reason for the reticence. The time might have come when a disillusioned Germany would say: "We also accept your plans for a better world. We also are willing to co-operate, and to make the necessary sacrifices. On condition that these plans are implemented, we are ready to surrender."

In other words, conditional surrender is the essential to any real peace. Unconditional surrender is the prelude to a renewal of war. If words mean anything, nothing that the Germans can do—neither national revolution nor national repentance—can turn us aside from our intention of having them utterly at our mercy, if we can get them there. What our mercy would be, nobody knows; but certainly no German will expect anything better, indeed anything half so good, as the treatment Germany has meted out to France.

Significantly, Stalin holds himself aloof from this foolishness. He knows well that he is only too willing that Germany shall surrender on conditions. He is constantly at pains to give more definite outline to those conditions. And it is pretty safe to say that if, as is by no means improbable, there were a Communist revolution in Germany, Russia would not only make peace with her, but positively incorporate Germany with herself. But short of this, Stalin has been careful to indicate that Russia has no intention of keeping Germany disarmed. Russia recognizes that a national army and an organized State are necessary to Germany. Nor has Russia any intention of trying to disrupt the unity of the German Reich.

It is from the side of Russia that the voice of reason comes to German ears: from the side of the United Nations un-reason. Whether the reason of Russia will be persuasive and effective in "softening" Germany, it is too early to say. Much will depend upon the German common soldiers' actual experience of social conditions in Russia. (It is worth noting that the Germans are now sending British prisoners to occupied Russia in order that they may see for themselves what the conditions actually are). But whether or not the appeal of Communist Russia goes home to Germany, the unreason of the Western Allies can have only the effect of uniting all Germans in desperate defence against them.

The optimists believe that Britain is safeguarded against any untoward consequences by the treaty of alliance with Russia. That is wishful thinking. Unless they are capable of concerting with Russia conditions on which the surrender of Germany will be acceptable to the United Nations as a whole, that treaty of alliance is not worth the paper it is written on. The plain fact that Russia did not participate in the Casablanca Conference is much more weighty. "Unconditional surrender," we repeat, makes nonsense of all high-flown pretensions to be fighting for a world of justice and peace. It implies that for us also Might is Right, not a means to the establishment of Right. The sooner we discard the stupid slogan the better—for our reputation, for our success, and for our relations with Russia.

tempt to democratize his movement. Why he has been regarded as a paladin of French democracy because he was an Under-Secretary in Reynaud's Cabinet passes conjecture. Reynaud himself was openly and violently opposed to French democracy. As for Giraud, among the sentiments expressed in his memorandum to Petain, written after his mysterious escape from Germany, were these:

"The ruin which the Popular Front caused France is immeasurable... Sincere Frenchmen who have been in Germany as prisoners of war can bear witness to its prosperity and to its physical and moral health. Admittedly the Germans do not perhaps have liberty, but there is certainly neither disorder nor anarchy. Everywhere it is work, the only fortune for a people which wishes to live and to live happily" (Life, Feb. 1).

There is nothing wicked in such sentiments; neither is there anything sacrosanct in French parliamentarianism. But it would be stupid to suppose that the soldier who professed them means what we want to think he means when he says he is "the servant of the French people, not their leader."

## The U-Boat Campaign

THE latest number of the American magazine Life to reach me (Feb. 1) contains strong words and some figures on the U-boat campaign.

"Able Roscoe Drummond, in the Christian Science Monitor, reported on good authority that sinkings had reached the tremendous total of one million dead-weight tons per month... Navy Secretary Knox has said that this figure should be 'qualified', without however giving any figure to replace it. In the desperate game of building versus sinking, we may perhaps be holding our own, or even gaining slightly. Yet the United Nations probably have less merchant tonnage available than the 25 million tons at their disposal when the US entered the war 13 months ago.

"Even if we are gaining slightly over the sinkings, this is the most expensive type of warfare. The loss of trained and courageous personnel in the merchant fleet has been heavy.

## AN OPEN LETTER

:: to Followers of Jesus ::

MY FRIENDS,—I believe that many of you, when you read in your newspapers that Berlin had received its greatest and most destructive bombing of the war, must have experienced, as I did, an overwhelming sense of grief and shame.

Grief for the distraught, fear-racked mothers of terrified children; for the cripples who will drag out their lives in the future years. Shame for the deeds now being done and sanctioned in the name of a civilization which for many hundreds of years has professed to put Jesus of Nazareth, who taught us that God is love, at the heart of its life.

"Whole blocks of houses collapsed into nothing, like packs of cards... The civilian population comes up from the shelters ashen pale, with shaking legs. One sees no tears, hears no complaint. The people are glad simply to have got away with their lives."

Such was a description of a similar and earlier raid on Germany, and memories of London, Coventry, Exeter rush into our minds. Only it is not quite a parallel because the scale of horror is growing week by week. We shudder away from the abyss, trying to shut out the sights and the sounds, but there is a challenge which we cannot escape.

\* \* \*

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?"

What are the followers of Jesus today going to answer? Shall we say that because of the injustice and evil in the world we have to do such things in order that right may prevail? The answer comes: "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

Or shall we say that, we also having suffered, it is only right that others should know what suffering means? Again the answer comes: "Love your enemies."

But are not these people not only our enemies but also the enemies of

And every ship carries down with it a precious fraction of the war-equipment that our industrial plant is straining to produce. These losses act like a huge brake on any offensive plans we may have against Europe. For it takes about 10 tons of shipping to transport one soldier, and about 1½ tons per month to keep him supplied. At the present rate of sinking, the cost of any offensive bigger than N. Africa (which required the biggest armada in naval history) would be tremendous."

Two months later, the Daily Mail (Mar. 22) reports from New York that "the U-packs are sinking as many ships this month as they have ever done in any previous comparable period, and the belief is growing that the menace must be curbed at all costs before the Allies can mount a full-scale assault against the European continent."

## Second Front Prospects

THESE are at least more forthright statements than we are accustomed to read. What their actual bearing may be on the problem of opening a Second Front is uncertain. One would certainly imagine from the dark hints in the press that the Second Front is imminent; but, if the picture drawn in Life is correct, that can hardly be. Unless of course there has been a great accumulation of men and material in these islands despite the shipping losses. In that case, if the attack can be made across the Channel, under overwhelming air-cover, it may not be quite so impracticable as Life makes out.

But the toll of human life would probably be enormous. Moreover, since it seems to be gradually admitted that the Germans transferred 12 divisions from the West to the East for their recent counter-offensive on the Donetz, it would appear that they are not unduly alarmed.

## An "Unreal" War

ANYHOW, to speak thus coolly of a Second Front which will, in all probability, involve another blood-bath like that of the last war, is horrible in itself. Yet what can one do? The thing is being prepared, and unless the practical difficulties are insuperable, it will happen. Will those who are now clamouring for it find it so popular when it does happen?

In a queer way this has so far been, for Britain, if not a "phony" war, a slightly unreal one. The fact that the civilian population has suffered so heavily from bombing compared with the immunity of 1914-18, combined with the absence, so far, of mass-slaughter in the West, has given this war a

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(Continued from page one)

quality entirely different from that of the last. The unbridged abyss between the people at home and the men over there which existed from 1915 onwards does not exist today. We are all in it at present, in a sense that had no meaning in 1914-18.

## Rusty Democratic Machine

THIS peculiar atmosphere may end abruptly if a Second Front is really opened. Therefore I suspect it is a major blunder, due to lack of imagination, that the opportunity of calm has not been taken to put our domestic affairs in order as far as we can. Not to have used the calm to get the creaking machinery of political democracy into going order seems almost criminal. Maybe the machinery of political democracy will not work under the coming strains, however much it is reconditioned; but it is sheer folly not to have it in running order.

The rusty machine of a self-perpetuating Parliament elected eight years ago, on issues entirely trivial compared with those now at stake, is almost certain to explode when the real strain comes. "We are in a fair way in this country," says the News Chronicle (Feb. 18) "to reducing representative democracy to a farce... an aged House of Commons replacing its casualties by rubber-stamp nominees whose candidature is automatically endorsed by that section of the electorate which has the least active interest in the war, or the future of democracy."

## Petrifying Parliament

IT is Sir Richard Acland's action in opposing the issue of a writ which has focussed interest on the question again. He has good cause to make this unprecedented protest, for it is certain that, were not the voters of 21-25 illegitimately disfranchised. Common Wealth would have won the last two by-elections instead of losing them by narrow margins. The disfranchisement of some three million young people, combined with the electoral pact, is petrifying a Parliament which was already obsolete in September 1939.

This is the Parliament which, for example, even in face of the Beveridge report, has not the courage to abolish the vested interest of the big insurance companies in "industrial assurance."

## "Wrong Spending"

HOW intolerable to any decent society this particular "worthy interest" is has been forcibly brought home to me by the survey made by a Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare. It is called "Our Towns—a Close-up" (Humphrey Milford: 6s.) I beg my readers to get hold of it.

Of the "wrong spending" which helps so powerfully to make the slum-proletariat whose degraded habits of life shocked the countryside in the great evacuation, Burial Assurance comes first in the survey. Remember that, before the war, the poor people of Britain paid £73 millions a year for so-called "Industrial Assurance" and that no less than £23 millions of this was absorbed in "management expenses". Nearly a half million a week filched from the poorest of the poor by trading on their almost superstitious fear of a pauper funeral.

## War on Civilians

THERE is now (writes T. J. E. W.) an unofficial war being waged on the civilian populations of both sides. Consider the following:

"1,000 KILLED IN BERLIN. Streets Wrecked. Inside Europe, Friday. A thousand people were killed in the RAF's latest great raid on Berlin—the 'biggest ever'—on the night of Mar. 1. This has been admitted to foreign visitors by Berlin officials, who feared that the total would rise..." (Daily Mail, Mar. 20).

The operative word is "admitted." Consider its significance. In the early weeks of the air war the word used would have been "alleged". It would have been followed up by a righteously indignant denial of the German allegation by the Ministry of Information. The implication of the word "admitted" as used in the above quotation from the press is, all too obviously, that readers should now take comfort from the murder of civilians by British bombs. This war becomes more Christian every day. Ask Dr. Temple and the rest.

## Our Friends the Enemy

IS it better to be a prisoner of war in Germany than in Britain? I could not help wondering when I read an extract from the Hamburger Fremdenblatt (Jan. 21) explaining to the citizens of that great and much-bombed city that prisoners of war, being now engaged in repairing blitzed houses, must be expected to ride in ordinary trams, though on the front platform only. (There is nothing to correspond to the front platform on an English bus or tram. In France and Germany I always thought it the friendliest place of all, rather like the seats next the driver on the old horse buses in London.)

The nearest I have ever got to prisoners of war in this country was to wave to a busful of them, locked in, outside my country railway station. They were Italians, and they were singing an air from an opera—beautifully, it seemed to me. But they all stopped to return my wave; and I hurried on, ashamed of my own nearness to tears, at the utter insanity of war. Here were "enemies" aching to be friends: nay, here were friends, manoeuvred into being "enemies".

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WINIFRED RAWLINS



# The Affair of My Sister

You know the one I mean? "What would you do," they used to say to us, "if you saw a great hulking German ...?"

Oh yes, we always mumbled something about its not applying. But are we sure her poor desecrated ghost has ever been properly laid?

**T**HIS question keeps cropping up whenever we think about any new event in the war. Would you like to see the French revolt? What would you do about the persecution of the Jews?

And now, more subtly, are

## WORDS OF PEACE — 13

### Without Malice

Major Compton Smith, shot April, 1921, as a hostage, by the Irish Republican Army, in a letter to his wife:—

*I AM to be shot in an hour's time, dearest. Yours truly will die with your name upon his lips, your face before his eyes; and he will die like a soldier and an Englishman. I cannot tell you, sweetheart, how much it is to me to leave you alone, or how little to me personally to die. I have no fear, only the utmost, greatest, and tenderest love to you and our sweet little Anne.*

*I leave my cigarette case to the Regiment, my medals to my father, and my watch to the officer who is executing me because I believe him to be a gentleman and to mark the fact that I bear him no malice for carrying out what he believes his duty.*

To his Regiment:—

*I should like you fellows to know that I intend to die like a Welsh Fusilier with a laugh and forgiveness for those who are carrying out the deed. I should like my death to lessen rather than increase the bitterness that exists between England and Ireland. God bless you all, comrades.*

you pleased about the news from Russia?

The trouble is, you probably are. And it isn't just the hope of peace that attracts you either; it's something to do with Our Side winning. Isn't it now?

And if that's your emotion, say Reinhold Niebuhr and other champions of my sister, you ought to be in it, and not just standing about approving while others do your fighting for you.

Well, once and for all, what is our answer to this? Against this, what do we really stand for?

We stand, I take it, in peace as in war, for something which transcends both. We stand for a whole system against another whole system: for the rule of the world by love against the prevailing rule of selfishness and fear.

We may incidentally think that Hitler had some right on his side, or that Churchill's probably just as big a rogue—or dupe—anyway; we may even criticize the declaration of war in 1939, though it was inevitable in the circumstances. But all these things, true or false, are beside the point—no more and no less relevant than the argument about my sister. Even to say that you couldn't kill is only the negative side of it; and anyway how do you know till you've tried?

What matters is the all-time objection, not merely to war itself, but to the whole political and moral set-up behind it.

In peace-time, of course, the potentialities of the system remain relatively ambiguous; and as the pacifist isn't asked to take any direct action to support it, and is still free to do some propaganda against it, he probably acquiesces.

But the outbreak of war presents "civilization" with the lid off, unequivocal and explicit in its wickedness, and demanding (what's more) personal and direct action in its support from each individual. In the circumstances the only possible action for a pacifist is a negative one—blank refusal.

Total war being what it is, however, the only way to make sure of your refusal is suicide; and that (I'll take the liberty of assuming) doesn't do anyone any good. But anything else, even total objection, leaves us open to all sorts of emotions, thoughts, and actions connected with what is going on: some of them wildly sentimental (like plans for Peace With Hitler Now); or hopelessly illogical (like manhandling that German, if he did start any tricks—or, in the meantime, your critics in the Dog and Duck); or indirectly useful to the war effort (like joining the NCC or FAU); or frankly unprincipled (like approving of Darlan's assassination).

Some of these things are praiseworthy and indeed (if you feel that way) obligatory; because a lot of the incidentals even of war present opportunities for good. All of them are forgivable in a minority just as liable as anybody else to influence by public opinion or hot blood. In any case most of them can't be avoided once you accept the absurd position of going on existing as a pacifist in the middle of a war. They don't matter—on one condition.

That condition is that they are recognized as only secondary reactions to the war. Indeed, most of the things they are reactions to are themselves only incidents in the war: secondary facts subordinate to the major fact of war itself. To that major fact the pacifist has long ago, in calm and all due seriousness, made his major response—the gesture of negation.

And however badly our secondary emotions, and even actions, may let us down—and we do, after all, most of us know pretty well the point where we stop—that primary conviction stands, and will stand unshaken.

All the same, I shall go on being interested in the news from Russia. And you can tell my sister that it'll probably be all right about her honour. I may loathe and despise myself for it, but it'll probably be all right.

**Michael Hewlett**

### DR. ALEX WOOD

The following statement concerning Dr. Alex. Wood's letter of resignation, published in Peace News on Mar. 5, was agreed by the PPU Executive on Mar. 16, with two dissentients:

"In the Executive's view, in fairness to the Chairman, it was necessary to publish his letter to the movement without delay. The Executive feels that no further correspondence on this matter should appear in Peace News until the National Council has discussed it. The date of the next meeting of the Council is April 10-11."

### Politics of Peace

**I** DO hope that the Bill Grindlay quartette will try to clear up some of the obscurities and evasions in their essay (PN, Mar. 12).

They use the phrase "surplus value." Now, to one not favoured to have much knowledge of the several theories of "value," the phrase is cryptic. Even with the amplification, "which, in peace-time, causes mass unemployment," the meaning is not self-evident; because, in reality, that which in peace-time is permitted to cause mass unemployment is accumulation of desired but undistributed products of industry! And, if that be "the problem," the solution—permanent and satisfactory—clearly lies in a system of equitable distribution and/or exchange of recurrent accumulations.

The essayists' iteration that it is a "simple economic fact that war solves the problem" is tiresome. War does nothing of the kind. It temporarily obscures the issue by providing a diversion. That this is so, is proved by the continual reappearance of "the problem."

Even though "foreign lending"—another technical phrase—be "a natural development of our acquisitive society," to say that it "cannot be abolished without transforming that society" is escapism. As well say that nothing should be done to curb theft and forgery until the arrival of an era of bliss where temptation is not and preventive action unnecessary.

I want to conclude on a generous note. Here it is. If Bill and Co. want to constitute themselves valued supporters of the notorious Bank for International Settlements—well: let's let them.

**CHAS. W. D. NEWMAN**

Beechcroft, Brownhill, Stroud.

As one who has sympathetic leanings toward that "group of reactionaries" that "attributes present evils almost exclusively to 'International Finance'," I shall be interested to hear the refutation of their argument put forward by the "Four people."

Meanwhile, I should like to know in what way the "social ownership of the means of production and distribution" will help us in this modern world where, in peace time, the two absorbing problems are to find people with enough money to buy one's goods and, in turn, to find enough money to buy theirs or, more simply, to find enough money: hardly ever, even for the poorest, is the problem that of finding goods and transport. That being so, it would appear that it is the means of issuing money and credit that should come under social ownership.

One more point. An expansion of credit, that is, a loan, tends to force up prices. A contraction of credit, that is, calling in the loan tends to force prices down, and on the price level depends the value of the worker's wages and whether he leads a full life or a life of grinding poverty. What chance is there of establishing a free society while the control of credit remains in private hands not responsible to the people?

**H. D. MORGAN**

Spitlands, Hempstead, Essex.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## Pressure for Belgian Food Relief

**P**UBLIC pressure for Belgian food relief is increasing notably. The Belgian Prime Minister has spoken forthrightly in favour, and both Prof. Emile Cammaerts and Dr. E. J. Bigwood, President of the Belgian Red Cross, have made further outspoken comments.

At the same press conference at which the Prime Minister spoke, Dr. Bigwood explained to correspondents the extent of the food shortage in Belgium.

Her normal consumption of food was 2,850 calories per head, half of which was represented by imports. Throughout the last war, under German occupation, it dropped to 2,250 calories, a reduction of 21 per cent. In this war, by the winter of 1941-2 the theoretical (that is, ration card) value of the average diet was shown to 1,250 calories, but apart from bread this was by no means always available, and the actual consumption amounted to 950 calories, except for special classes of workers, such as land-workers. The result was that 6,000,000 Belgians were down to a diet one third of normal in energy-value.

The effect of three years of malnutrition was to re-create famine diseases which were hitherto unknown and to reverse the normal excess of birth over deaths. Body-weight had dropped on an average from 10 to 45 lbs.—as much as one-third of the normal weight. The reduction of the haemoglobin content of the blood was as high as one half. The school population was down by 60%. The rest of the children were too weak to go to school.

Unless relief was sent, the future of the Belgian nation was doomed.

Prof. Emile Cammaerts, commenting in The Times (Mar. 20) on their medical correspondent's article on post-war relief, points out that "relief after liberation, however skillfully planned, may come too late," and urges that a limited amount of medical supplies and foodstuffs should be sent as soon as possible, wherever practicable.

The highest figure quoted for Belgium, in the memorandum drafted by the experts of the Famine Relief Committee, is 2,000 tons a month—that is to say, 2% of the amount sent from 1914-19 under the Hoover Commission.

A well-attended public meeting in Lancaster City Banqueting Hall, under the chairmanship of the Mayor, on Mar. 20, passed unanimously a resolution urging the Government to grant navicerts enabling food to be sent to the starving countries of Europe.

### SUPPORT FOR ARMISTICE RESOLUTION

In spite of the fact that the time was short and the organization very inadequate, more than 500 signatures had been added to the resolution declaring "that the time has arrived for negotiations to bring the war to an end" when it was handed in at the London Cooperative Society's headquarters on Monday for consideration at the half-yearly meetings of members at the end of April.

The announcement (PN, Mar. 5) that the resolution was being proposed brought, in addition to signatures, inquiries from members of other cooperative societies, in widely separated parts of the country, who wished to raise the matter similarly.

### THE DEBATE IS OPEN!

Let Geo. Ll. Davies, Laurence Housman, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Reginald Reynolds, Alan Standland, Roy Walker and Howard Whitten open your group discussion on:

### Non-Violence for the West?

with the Symposium under that title now published at 7d. (post free 8d.)

P.P.U. Bookshop, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## The Necessity of Conscription

**O**N Mar. 12, Observer referred to a speech made by Mr. Henry Wallace, stating that if mass-unemployment continued after the war, the only question would be whether we became Fascist or Communist. Observer then asked: "Has anyone thought up a policy of full employment which does not involve totalitarian control—permanent industrial conscription?"

The suggestion appears to be that Observer has thought up such a policy. If he has, can we have it? But let it be practicable for a non-pacifist community after the war. If he has not, let him admit that totalitarian control—industrial conscription—is inevitable after the war to prevent mass-unemployment and that the duty of pacifists is not to oppose conscription as such (which reminds one of King Canute), but, seeking to defend the vital human freedoms, rather to press for liberty of choice of occupation within the industrially conscripted State, such choice being subject to the needs of the community.

**HAROLD C. SNOW**

Fir Cottage, Queens Drive, Windermere.

"Observer" writes: My question contained no such suggestion as Mr. Snow reads into it. I agree with him that a policy of "full employment" necessitates permanent industrial conscription.

### Peace Plan

Both the militarist and the pacifist approach the problem of peace and war in an idealistic manner. The pacifist cries in vain for all men to lay down their arms while the militarist's recipe for peace is to subject and disarm his enemies. The militarist fails to realize that he is advocating not peace but a continuance of war in a non-violent form. History has taught that his plan will succeed for only a short time. Meanwhile, the war continues and mankind, openly or secretly, longs for peace.

### Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

We are now being told that the best way to ensure peace when the war has ended is for Britain to maintain close friendship with America and Russia. If this association is formed for predominantly military reasons, the plan will fail; it is, in fact, a plan for further war and not for peace. There is, however, another plan, long overdue, which should ensure peace if it were tried. It involves friendship between Britain and Germany.

Relations between these two countries have gone from bad to worse since 1898, and while only a myope would place all the blame on Germany's shoulders, no real attempt at a rapprochement has been made. The secret history revealing the tragic blunders and misunderstandings which led up to the 1914-18 war was just coming to light when the new war started. A study of Ludwig's "July 1914" to mention but one of many books, allows us to see the other side of the shield. Real friendship and understanding between Britain and Germany would remove most of the causes of European war and on this firm foundation could be laid the edifice of world peace.

Every day the present war continues the longer is the one sensible peace plan postponed, while Vansittartism flourishes and ideologies are invoked to add to the confusion and the hatred. Only an armistice now would enable us to clear the garden of its weeds which have been allowed to spread unchecked for over forty years.

**I WAVEY GIVAN**

Tudor Lodge, Denham, Bucks.

### Pacifist Cow

(Councillor J. Jinks, at the monthly meeting of the Marple Urban District Council, is reported to have said that he had received a complaint relating to a farmer who, he had been told, was a conscientious objector, and ratepayer—rightly, in his opinion—refused to have milk from him. There were people who would sooner do without milk than have it from that source.)

Councillor Jinks  
Says nobody drinks  
Milk provided  
By a darned CO.

But I ask how  
Marple folk allow  
For a militarist farmer  
With a pacifist cow?

**BEDFORD**

\*The pacifist cow is not a creation of the poet's imagination. He is personally acquainted with one who, contrary to the common practice among cattle, declines to engage in combat with strangers added to the herd.

# Some Objections to Conscription

## FOR FIRE GUARD

**THE** Evening News published on Mar. 17 a letter from the Duke of Bedford answering its question as to "what reasonable objection a person can have to conscription for fire-watching." He wrote:

"Some persons object to all forms of conscription as being a denial of those liberties for which we are supposed to be fighting... Some feel that if they consent to be conscripted for fire-watching they may find themselves ordered to fire-watch barracks, munition works, and other buildings used definitely for war purposes. Some... feel it wrong to allow themselves to be used to make other persons available for what they themselves consider wrong—i.e., for killing and being killed."

"The height of absurdity and injustice is reached under the existing system when a conscientious objector who is doing fire-watching in a voluntary capacity is prevented from continuing to do so by being imprisoned for refusing conscription..."

The 40s. (or seven days) fine imposed on Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale (PN, Mar. 19) has been paid anonymously.

### REFUSED INTERVIEW

Joan Locke, of Hampstead, who had been working for the Friends Service Council, pleaded guilty at Clerkenwell police court on Mar. 16 to a summons for failing to comply with a direction by a National Service Officer to present herself for an interview. Saying he would give her an opportunity of "thinking it over", the magistrate remanded her in custody for fourteen days.

When her solicitor applied for bail, the magistrate said she could apply to the High Court. The Central Board for COs then agreed to give Joan Locke any help needed in applying

to the High Court, but she later decided not to apply.

Earlier in the war it was decided (in the case of Rex v Brentford Justices, ex parte Muirhead) that the power to remand in custody must not be used with the object of imposing unauthorized punishment upon a defendant.

**Bernard Wellsbury**, lately resisting service in the RAF in India, has been discharged on the recommendation of the Advisory Tribunal which advised that he be required to take up full-time work on the land.

According to the Evening Standard, **Henry Sabini**, aged 43, of Hamilton Park, Highbury, who said that he had been detained under Regulation 18B, told the tribunal at Fulham on Mar. 18, that "judging from his past experience, he could not undertake any form of military service."

His name was removed from the register of COs, Judge Hargreaves remarking that "it cannot be a matter of conscience to say 'I have been badly treated'."

The same paper reported that on the same day, at Tottenham, **Arthur Alan Vickery**, described as an osteopathic physician, of Derwent Rd., Palmers Green, was sent to gaol for 12 months for refusing to undergo a medical examination.

**Mr. R. S. W. Pollard**, for the defence, said that Vickery's objections were based on the ground of his objection to any form of war, and on his value of his service to the community.

**Norman Hilton** (26), of Manchester Rd., Chequerbent, having previously been to prison

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for refusing to submit to medical examination, was sent to prison at Bolton County police court on Mar. 1 (according to the Bolton Evening News) for three months with hard labour for failing to comply with a direction to do farm work.

## ADVISORY BUREAUX

**Axminster** individual adviser.—S. E. Hales, Cambrian, Lyme Rd., Axminster.

**Beckenham** (covering Anerley and Penge).—Tom Joseph, 28 Sheringham Rd., S.E. 20.

**Bideford** individual adviser.—Rev. A. J. Jeffries, Beverley, Abbotsham Rd., Bideford.

**Bognor** individual adviser.—Mrs. Ada King, Meadowlands, Southdean Drive, Middleton-on-Sea.

**Central London**.—Miss Irene Browne, 26 Perrin's Lane, N.W.3.

**Cheltenham**.—W. J. Jones, Maud's Elm, Swindon Rd., Cheltenham. (Cheltenham 2785). Derby.—Miss Winifred Mills, 50 Holbrook Rd., Belper.

**Llandudno** (covering Deganwy, Maes Du, and Llanrhos) individual adviser.—Richard Newton, 22 Deganwy Rd., Llandudno.

**North Wales Regional Secretary**.—Meurig Moelwyn-Hughes, Wrth-y-Coed, Meirion Lane, Bangor.

**Potters Bar** (covering Brookmans Park).—Percy W. E. Woods, 8 Heath Drive, Potters Bar.

**Rhos, Wrexham** individual adviser.—Rev. W. Lewis, Penul Villa, Rhos.

**St. Helens**.—Ted Kenyon, 74 Rigby St., St. Helens.

**Sidmouth** individual adviser.—Alan A. Myster, Lansbury, Newton Poppleford, nr. Sidmouth.

**Wandsworth**.—Reg. Willson, 32 Eglantine Rd., S.W.18.

**Whitechapel** (covering E.1 and E.C.3).—Norman Forward, 253 Mile End Rd., E.1.

## "PEOPLES SCHOOL" EXPERIMENT

**SIR** Richard Livingstone, in his book "The Future in Education", advocates the development of adult education on the lines of the Scandinavian People's High School.

His book inspired a small group to make a first experiment, last summer, with a People's High School and Holiday School at Rydal, and the experiment, though small, was full of value and inspiration. So they are making a second venture from April 12 to 21, at Heys Farm, Clitheroe (near Preston), and invite applications as soon as possible to Mrs. Ensor, 39 Oxford St., Barrow-in-Furness, or Miss M. L. V. Hughes, Broadgate, Brodington-in-Furness. The charge is £2 2s. for a week (or 8s. a day), including 2s. booking fee, not returnable.

The main subjects will be: Science, its use and abuse in practice today; The creative use of the Mother-Tongue; Music; Drama.

## PRISON MEDICAL SERVICES

The first-hand evidence of COs forms the basis of the report on an inquiry conducted by Roger Page into the medical services in prisons, just published in pamphlet form by the Prison Medical Reform Council. In a foreword Compton Mackenzie writes: "I commend to readers this report... in the hope that it will be read coldly as an exposure of inefficiency..."

The report also includes a memorandum by Roger Page on his own experience in prison, which Dr. H. B. Morgan, MP, was instrumental in placing before the Home Secretary. Mr. Morrison's statement that "the memorandum as a whole does not give a fair or accurate picture" led to the collection of evidence from many other COs.

The pamphlet, entitled "Prison Medical Service," is obtainable from the PMRC, 12 West Park, London S.E.9.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### EDUCATIONAL

**FIND RECREATION** and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3.

### FOR SALE & WANTED

**ACCORDIONS** bought, sold, or part exchange. Call or write 43 Perth Rd., Leyton, E.10.

**C.O. own Cycle Business.** Every facility for repairs, sale, exchange, or purchase. 722B, Old Kent Rd., S.E.15.

**FOR SALE** cut prices, elastic, combs, curlers, grips, cosmetics, saccharin etc. 24d. stamp for list. Box 806 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**LAMB'S TYPEWRITER RIBBONS.** Cleanest, clearest, longest; 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name typewriters, colours, Peace News. Lamb's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

**REST HOUSE** urgently needs sewing machine. Any offers? Smith, 58 Oakley St., S.W.3.

**"USE YOUR FREEDOM: Read Peace News"** Economy labels with this slogan, 1s. per 100, 8s. per 1,000. Order through your local PN distributor.

**WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL** would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

### LAND & COMMUNITY

**EXPERIENCED SMALLHOLDER** moving to larger farm wishes to borrow £50-£250 for additional livestock and cultivations. Good interest offered. Please write RGH, 34 Church St., Hereford.

## PUBLIC LUNCH HOUR ADDRESSES

at Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. (Opposite Euston Station)

**TUESDAYS 1.20 to 2.0 p.m.**

**March 30. THE CAUSES OF THE DEADLOCK IN INDIA**  
Edward Thompson

**April 6. THE FUTURE OF THE COLONIES**  
Harold Moody

**April 13. SHOULD THE UNITED NATIONS ISSUE A CHARTER OF RIGHTS FOR COLONIAL PEOPLES**  
C. W. W. Greenidge

**April 20. BRITAIN'S POST-WAR RESPONSIBILITIES TO HER COLONIAL PEOPLES**  
A. Creech Jones

### LAND & COMMUNITY (Cont.)

**MARRIED COUPLE** wanted by community for market gardening and domestic work. Cheescombe, Hawley, Liss, Hants.

**WANTED, SMALLHOLDING** stocked or unstocked within 50 mls. London, rent or buy. Dale, 13 Broadhurst Gdns., N.W.6.

**WANTED TWO Single C.O.s** join small community, forestry available. Biddulph, West Vale, Far Sawrey, via Ambleside, Westmorland.

### LITERATURE, &c.

**LANDWORKERS** are reading *The Land and the Nation* (2d.). *The Future of Industry and Agriculture* (4d.). *The Land: what shall be done with it?* (6d.). also *Beveridge in Brief* (6d.). 2s. the set, post free, from the Secretary, Industrial and Social Order Council, 47a Middleton Hall Rd., Birmingham 30.

**MEAT-EATING** involves cruelty! Try vegetarianism. Free literature. Vegetarian Society, Bank Sq., Wilmslow, Manchester.

**QUAKERISM** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

**WANTED** from young pacifists, inquiries and contributions for magazine "Youth". Edmund Marwick, 5 Northfield Cres., Edinburgh.

### MEETINGS, &c.

**FENNER BROCKWAY** (Chairman of the C.B.C.O.) will address a meeting open to all C.O.s at The Central Hall, Old Market St., Bristol, on Sat., Apr. 3, at 5.30 p.m. The meeting arranged by the S.W. Regional Board for C.O.s.

**GANDHI THE PACIFIST.** First in a series of two lunch hour lectures at 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. Reginald Reynolds; chairman John Fletcher. Thurs., Apr. 1, at 1.15 p.m. Admission free. London Area P.P.U.

**HAROLD FAIRHURST** (Violin), Frederick Woodhouse (Baritone), Norman Franklin (Pianoforte), at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1, on Sun., Mar. 28 at 2.45 p.m. in aid of Friends War Relief Service (Registered under War Charities Act 1940). Programme 2s. at door, usual agencies or F.W.R.S. (Euston 2747).

**LUNCH HOUR ADDRESS** at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. 1.20 p.m. Mar. 30 "The Causes of the Deadlock in India". Edward Thompson (Author of "Enlist India for Freedom" etc.)

### PERSONAL

**ACORN Stamp Exchange Club** requires buying and selling members. Details Forster, High St., Waterbeach, Cambs.

**INTRODUCTIONS** by post between pacifists, progressives, and other PN readers. Profits for Peace. Stamp brings particulars. Box 554 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**THE ENGAGEMENT** is announced between Trevor Rendall Davies, Bristol (formerly of Newport and Bournemouth), and Beryl Nancy Hudson, Bristol.

**WILL COPPIN**, Vice-Chairman of Co-operative War Resisters' Association, will allocate all dividend from L.C.S. share number 361536 to the Association funds for the next six months. Those wishing to help should use this number when trading with L.C.S.

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## SITUATIONS VACANT

A **LONDON HOSPITAL** wants to employ six C.O.s, as a group, for ward orderly work. Will those interested contact Jack Carruthers, Pacifist Service Bureau, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

A **VACANCY** for a young "C.O." on a market garden near Taunton, as a pupil. Employer a "C.O.". Pocket money with full board and lodging, pleasant surroundings and comfort. Write Box 809 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**ADAPTABLE MAN** (or man-and-wife) wanted by Dr. Gilbert's Health Foods Ltd., Grantham.

**ASHLEY HOUSE** Probation Hostel. Wanted: (1) Assistant Warden, experience in Crafts work with boys essential. (2) Resident Domestic Worker, willing tackle heavy work. In each case, salary according to experience; board, lodging, laundry provided. Apply, with copies testimonials, Miss Helen C. Davis, 106 Pembroke Rd., Bristol 8.

**COMMUNITY FARMING SOCIETY Ltd.**, pacifist, has three vacancies for assistant housekeepers; single (or married if husband is a carpenter, or requires land work experience). Also vacancies for carpenter and farm trainees. Start immediately. Particulars from The Laurels, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs. Phone Wragby 237.

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**AS CHILDREN'S HELP**, Pacifist Community, South Thames, £1 weekly. Box 802 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

**C.O. (20), EX-PRISON**, refused exemption, requires situation connected food production, distribution, or market gardening. Experience clerical work, one year's gardening. London or Home Counties preferred. Box 799 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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**FOR ALL properties** to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McGrath and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell) 9888, 8 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

**ONE ROOM CHALET**, 15s. WEEKLY; Single Berth 'Caravan', 10s. weekly. Both main water, plot of land; peaceful situation, minute Newton-Totnes Road. Crocker, Bilton, Ipplepen.

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